1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The Papago have the usual southwestern rule that myths shall not be narrated in summer. They wait until the biting creatures are asleep, and desert people include among these not only rattlesnakes, sidewinders, and gila monsters but also vinegaroons, tarantulas, and even the stinging ants. One informant, persuaded to tell a fragment of the tale out of season, went for weeks in fear of a flood. The official time for myth telling is during the four days of the winter solstice "when the sun stands still." Then residents of the narrator's village approach him with a handful of cornmeal, asking that he spend four nights in telling the story from beginning to end. He fasts from meat, grease, and salt during the whole time, and the old rule demanded sexual continence also. The listeners must sit upright all night, keep silent, and not doze. If the narrator sees someone sleeping, even a child, he may break off the narrative for that night.

Besides this official narration, which amounts almost to a communal ceremony, the myth may be told at any time from November to March, after suitable gifts to the narrator. The writer heard it in this way from two accredited mythtellers, one (informant 9) from the northern Papago, and one(10) from the southern. Incomplete versions came from a number of different villages(19, 20, 29). Each narrator used free, colloquial prose, though Indian hearers reported that a narrator's phraseology was about the same whenever they heard him. However, the style varied greatly. The first narrator, an elderly man, was brief and terse. The second, who was younger, embellished his narrative with similes, descriptions, and dramatic dialogue in the voices of men and animals.

The chief events, culled from all the versions, may be listed as follows:

1. In the beginning, all was darkness. Earthmaker and Yellow Buzzard[4] were floating in the void. They met four times, and each urged the other to make a world.

2. Earthmaker took "something from his heart," or "the dirt from

[4] Yellow Buzzard of the Papago is the turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura septentrionalis*). He is the totem of one of the moieties, which accounts for his prominence in the creation myth. The Pima, whose totems are more often spoken of as red and white ants (*ibid.*, p. 197), make Earth Doctor the sole primeval being (*ibid.*, pp. 206–7).

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steps must all be in exact accordance with prescription, otherwise misfortune would attack the performer or, perhaps, the whole community.

Quite different was the plan of the power ceremonies. Here were no hereditary officials and no calendric round. Ceremonies were left to the initiative of the individual, and it was not even necessary for the community to be present. Nor did it benefit, except indirectly. The occasion for these ceremonies was a vision, but not one of the average sort, which might occur without effort on the dreamer's part.[14] Power ceremonies were a form of initiation, held after a man had been in close and dangerous contact with the supernatural. Three acts could bring about such a contact: killing an enemy, killing an eagle, or fetching salt from the ocean. They were in the nature of a purification and an initiation, validating a power received through ordeal. This ordeal was not a useless self-torture; it was an act of practical benefit to the community.

Having performed one of the ritual acts, a man had ranged himself on the side of the supernatural. But the power which now flowed through him was equally potent for good or for evil, and he must go through a period of purification lest it destroy him. This purification was truly an ordeal, involving the usual fast of the Southwest—abstention from meat, grease, and salt, and also sexual continence—the use of a stick for touching the head, avoidance of the sun and of fire, and a purifying cold bath. But these rigors were not endured in order to draw pity from the supernatural. Papago religious practices contain no element of humility or supplication; it was the expression of a democratic community in which groveling before superiors was an unknown concept. The neophyte was considered to have obtained supernatural power already, and the purpose of his ordeal was to tame it for his use.

Until this had been done he was dangerous, both to himself and to others. He and the fetish he had acquired—scalp, sea shells, or eagle feathers—were avoided by all. So close was the family tie thought to be that his wife, his children, and all their relatives must

[14] See Underhill, 1939, pp. 167–74.

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undergo a modified form of purification at the same time. They would expect to share in the benefits of his power, but unless they took precautions it would harm them.

It was during his period of seclusion that visions came. Here two contradictory ideas had to be reconciled, for the neophyte was expected to learn from others, as well as dreaming for himself. The visions generally followed a pattern of visions recounted to him in standardized recitations by his "ceremonial father." This "made father" (*ókta*) was chosen by the neophyte from the men who had been through the experience previously. The lines of behavior follow those of a society initiation, yet the "made fathers" were not a society. Perhaps it was the semi-nomadic life of the Papago which prevented their closer organization, but they remained individuals, gathering in groups only on special occasions.

The neophyte might learn recitations and songs by rote from his "made father," and this in itself gave him power. Also, the animals were supposed to find him particularly pleasing during his purification and to choose this time for their visits. In this way the idea of the guardian spirit and of a form of priestly initiation were reconciled. Ultimately the neophyte was free. The informal group of ceremonial fathers received him back into the community, singing the songs that ratified his power, blowing purifying smoke over him, and finally calling him by the kinship term. The new *siakam*, or ripe man,[18] was now eligible to take part again in community life.

There was another purificatory process—so like the three already mentioned that it has been classed with them—the segregation of girls at puberty, an ancient rite, far more widespread in the Papago area than any purification for men. It involved the same features: segregation, partial fasting, use of the scratching stick, cold baths, and the avoidance of looking at the sun or at fire.

Obviously, the power which comes upon a girl of nubile age was thought similar to that dangerous magic which men could acquire only by effort. It had the same effect of making the girl dangerous

[18] Cf. the Keresan use of *crude* (raw) to denote those who belong to no society (Dumarest, p. 198; White, 1935, pp. 155, 167). The Zuni, according to Cushing, speak of mankind as "done, baked, ripe" and of the animals and animal gods as "raw" (Cushing, 1880–81, p. 198).

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bathed. The keeper of the smoke went through the usual retreat, involving fasting and solitude for four days, and then he also bathed. If the augury had been inauspicious, the ceremony might be held again when the saguaro was in bud, about a month before the drinking ceremony.

Kaka had also a ceremony when the corn was well up and before the tassel was formed. Corn effigies were made of painted sticks and placed in the council house. Then twenty boys and twenty girls, painted and dressed as in the previous ceremony, faced each other in two rows, boys and girls alternating, and danced backward and forward. This is the same general performance as the autumn cleansing dance, which purified the meat and the harvest crops. After it was over the dancers bathed and abstained for four days from meat, salt, and sexual intercourse. The informant was uncertain whether the bundle was opened on this occasion, but it seems likely that this act formed part of the ceremony.

The Kaka songs were on the usual scraping-stick pattern.

27. *Hí hianai hu!*
All together, all together, all together
They sing.
He! All together they sing
Hítcia háhina.
All of them, the white beans,
Together sing
Tcianai hiu.

Hí hianai hu!
All together, all together, all together
They sing.
He! All together they sing
Hítcia háhina.
All of them, the red beans,
Together sing
Tcianai hiu.(3)

When corn planting time arrived each man sowed his seed without further communal ceremony. He stood at the edge of the corn

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU27
Pima NU29

number of comparisons between the Pima and the Pueblos, or by Underhill or Whiting,[7] the general situation has its counterpart among the Pueblo Indians.

Another Pueblo resemblance is seen in the assertion of some Pima informants that, if a man accidentally cut off a stalk of corn while hoeing, it was buried in the field, or tucked under his belt and carried home at night. He felt very badly about the experience for corn was his very life. It was just like "killing his own life," or injuring a friend. Papago had no such outlook. When a Papago cut off a stalk of corn he too felt badly, but this was due purely to economic considerations. However, one informant said that, if the hoes of two persons struck together while hoeing, it was an omen that enemies were coming, so the workers quit and prepared for them. This, too, has its Pueblo counterpart. Still another Pueblo resemblance is seen in the statement of one Pima informant that planting was always started in the east of the field and proceeded toward the west.

It is customary among the Pueblos for the people of a village to prepare, plant, hoe, irrigate and harvest the cacique's field, which in reality is a community field. Among the Pimans, it was not uncommon for the people in a village to take care of the chief's or headman's field, although this was never out of ritualistic considerations as among the Pueblos, but for purely practical reasons. Their view was that if the chief were too busily engaged with tribal matters to look after his farming it was only fair for his people to assist. It was in no sense compulsory.

Pimans, particularly younger women, carefully avoided branched or twin ears of corn, but these were commonly used to provide cornmeal for ceremonies. Informants said that women refrained from eating such ears because they feared having twins, which were regarded as an ill omen.

There was no ceremonial sexual restriction at harvest or

[7] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Whiting, *Ethnobotany of the Hopi*, p. 45.